1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Then the other side comes in. Their aim is to pass the marks of their opponents; passing a peg is called *kaila;* if the spirit of the reed throwing passes the pegs of their opponents it is called "spirit devours" (*kalou kania*) and they cry *ue*. The spirit of reed throwing stands at the far end of the course and each time his side passes a peg shouts out the number still remaining. If the furthest peg is passed they cry *ue*. Then the second team picks up its reeds and throws back towards the end from which they threw first. I have not noted the method of scoring. The beaten side sing, *"E ua, e ua, e ua ua, eua."* For a drawn game, both sides are silent.

According to the legend related in the Native Gazette (11, p. 148, 1914), there existed witchcraft to make the other side fail. It also mentions a man standing on the Green and dodging the reeds of the other side; he was called *mata ni kalou ni levelevetingga,* or "face of the spirit of reed-dodging" or "the vanguard in dodging reeds," for *mata ni kalou* in other parts of Fiji is the equivalent of the spirit battalion (*mataivalu kalou*) of Tumbou.

Children (possibly imitating their elders) make the poorest thrower sit down, and stand round him and sing while they mark time by beating their reeds on a stick; at the end of the song they hit his head.

FIGHTING GAMES

Wrestling, boxing, hitting each other were Tongan customs and practised in Tongan times. Young men challenged to wrestling by holding the left arm bent across the chest and slapping the outer side of the elbow with the right hand, thus producing a hollow sound; this was called *pako*. This was done on the beach when canoes came in from Tonga. In Ono the youngsters formerly boxed with one or both hands, wrapping up their fists with bark cloth; later they fought with bare fists. They also had a game called "lifting up the coconut leaf mat," simply a wrestling meet, after which they beat one another with coconut stumps to see who was strongest. Cock fighting was also practised. None of these games is now played; only cricket, and that fitfully.

LAFO

Lafo, Fijianized as *lavo,* is an indoor game still played by adults. Mats are folded and laid along the middle of the house forming a long, narrow, smooth, and slightly hollow pitch. Two players will sit at each end, those at the same end playing against each other. The game is played with little discs consisting of fruits of *walai* or of small circular pieces of coconut shell cut as flat as possible; they are called *i lavo* which has become the

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

YAM GROWING

247 Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a [525] race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

[262] Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula*, *kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *avanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tavake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted [177] planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

242 244 A Lauan says:

Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasca*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

526 A race (*rova*) was then held. The whole of Lakemba took part; there might be as many as three hundred runners, a custom still observed. When the new provincial cutter was brought to Lakemba the race started from a point about half to three quarters of a mile from Tumbou along the beach toward Tarukua; the ladies stood at the goal with bark cloth tied on sticks like flags. The runners are placed in several rows, each man pleasing himself except that none is allowed to stand too far in advance, and the man who won the last race is placed hindmost "to keep guard on the beach" (*vakataxa nuku*). One man stands about half way with a conch; when he blows the conch the signal is given: "Stamp once, stamp twice, stamp thrice, stamp four times, run." The man with the conch runs and blows as he runs; if the others catch him up he is trodden upon. Sometimes a man will hide in the bush and join in near the goal; in the old days if he was caught he was hit by the nobles; nowadays he is stamped upon, the common method of "ragging." While the men run the ladies wave their flags and sing:

[539]

Ure, ure wi, urea.
Laki kau mai a i sulu loaloa,
A ondra i suai a ngone sokoa.
Ure, ure wi urea.
Laki kau mai a masi volavola.
A ondra i suai a ngone ni Tonga.

Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the black cloth,
A rag for the sailor boys.
Shake, shake the plum tree, shake.
Bring the variegated tapa,
A rag for the boys from Tonga.

Another runs:

Niu lele ki Tonga, lele mai,
Tou sa veithoka, niu lele.

Coconut that crossed to Tonga, crossed back,
Let us cast spears, floating nut.

The man who gets in first is said to salute the race (*tamaka a rova*). A piece of bark cloth is wrapped round his legs, and is called "the burying of his legs" (*a i mbulu ni yavana*). If a man is present who does not belong to Lau the winner hands him the bark cloth, otherwise he keeps it. The remainder of the stuff is divided among the carpenters and the crew: these gifts are called *i rova*. Unlike the race for a new garden (p. 102), this race has no ulterior motive (*vakaimbalembale*), but is merely a matter of kinship.

501 [431] After a year or two the owners of the canoe again make gifts which are called the finishing of the canoe (*i vakaoti ni wangga*).

501 574 The Lauans made the *mbutambuta* and other feasts for the large canoes ordered by the Tongans and for small plank canoes, but for none did they make as big feasts as for canoes ordered by the Tui Naiau. The eating "for . . ." was held for small canoes if the owner could afford it.

50: Canoes known as "nets of the dead" did not remain long in Lakemba: they were taken to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Tonga; some remained in

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara.

535 E theie rei lala a ndrusa vuka, — He fears being alone,
539 E mangi au rai vakasungga, — So the pigeon decides to return and to stay,

Ulili ki muri u laki mbutuka, — Because the storm is gathering
Umasuka eke re a thangi mbula, — But alas, he is the only one to be saved.
I sa na mbula ae, — . . .
Rasamula kina ki sa na mbula e. — . . .

535 Another dance type is the *scasea*, in which, according to the natives, women
[292] sometimes wear wigs of hibiscus bark dyed black, called *ulu mate* (dead head) or *ulu lasulasu* (false head).

[177] The natives say a Tongan dance called *lakalaka* has been introduced but is seldom seen in southern Lau unless the visit of a chief is expected. A dance called *tupaki*, possibly from Uvea, is performed with a paddle (*paki*) of *manu* or *vesi*.

MODERN DANCES

Modern *meke*, which are composed according to old patterns, are less figurative than the old. They reflect the changing scene of modern life. The following modern sitting dance was composed in Matuku and recorded on Kambara, where it is popular among the women:

[539]

Singa Monite ni sa na yakavi — On next Monday afternoon
Mai ndua manda na veivosaki, — We shall have an informal meeting,
Menda sa na mai vondo na landi, — We'll go out cruising in the launch,
Ndomo ni ndini ka sa na tatangi. — The engine will roar.
Ni mai rongotha, ni mai sarava — Come and listen and see
Na Andi Thilema soli katakata, — *Lady Thilema* speeding ahead,
Sa na vuso ruarua na mbambana. — The foam breaking on both sides.

535 Joking songs (*kuma*) are usually sung by clowns who accompany them
522 with grotesque gestures and comical expressions. One type of *kuma* is the monkey dance (*meke ni nggele*) in which the performer imitates a monkey. The monkey dance is said to be recent in Lau.

[539]

Meke mate ko nggele, — Dance of the death of the monkey,
Meke mate ko nggele, — Dance of the death of the monkey,
Ko nggele, ko nggele! — Monkey, monkey!
(repeat)

GAMES[2]

DART THROWING

516 A variation on the dart game (*teka* or *tika*) found in Polynesia and adjacent Melanesia was *tchingga*, formerly a popular game in southern Lau. The game consisted of throwing a reed or spear (*moto ni tchingga*) for distance along a permanent shallow ditch (*rara ni tchingga*). The ditches are seen today near old village sites. I examined a shallow ditch, 180 meters long

[2] Since many games in Lau form a part of the social ceremonial pattern games have been included in this section.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

and 5.5 meters wide called Wainikeli in east central Wangava. Low banks of earth on either side of the ditch were 50 cm. high. 526

Mosesi, an old man of Namuka who formerly lived on Wangava, had played *tchingga* in his youth. He gave the following account of the game:

Tchingga is an old game played by men. The *tchingga* ground was in or near the village. In olden times the court had a ditch but more recently the game was played without one. I have never seen a game played in a ditch. If the ditch was used the reeds flew farther because they hit the side wall, were knocked back into the ditch, and hit the wall again farther along. *Tchingga* games were held between clans, villages, and islands. The Namuka people played often with the Kambarans. When they wished to play they sent a group of men to Kambara to present kava and invite the people to participate in a game. A prize consisting of mats, coconut oil, tapa, or other property was decided upon. It was collected from both sides before the game and was kept by the chief until the game was over, when it was presented to the winners. When the Kambarans arrived on Namuka they offered kava to the hosts, and the Namukans presented a feast to them. Before the players started they had a kava ceremony either indoors or outside near the playground. If the game was held on Namuka, the Namuka men always threw the reeds first; if it was held on Kambara the Kambarans threw first. The player held his reed (*i tchingga*) between middle finger and thumb of his right hand and covered the pointed end of the reed with his index finger. With his left hand at about the height of his chin, he held the butt end of the reed between index finger and thumb. When ready to throw, his body started to move rhythmically and the girls, who were spectators, chanted the *tuki tchingga*. The Namuka girls chanted when the Namuka men threw and vice versa, as follows: [525]

Moi tu ka tangane tha,	They have thrown the ugly man (reed),
A thava ko rairaitha rairaitha i ra?	Why is it so bad looking?
Thethe ki lekutu ka ramusu! . . . pei!	Gliding into the bush and breaking! . . . pei!

[539]

The last word, a short, explosive sound, was the signal for the player to throw his reed. During the chant a girl (occasionally two) who liked the player, stepped up to him and struck his upper arm and shoulder. She did this apparently for fun, but really because she wanted to touch the man. If no girl struck a man he was ashamed. Each side had a player called eye or face of the devil (*mata ni tchimoni*), who threw for luck first, but his throw did not count. If he did well his side knew it would play well. Next the best player in the last game threw. The rest of the players followed, and when they finished the players of the opposite side went through the same procedure. The man who threw his reed farthest was the winner. The winning reed had no name. If the Namukans won they would call out, "Sau e Na Ndrondro Levu!" (Na Ndrondro Levu is the name of a large passage which is always rough and therefore keeps enemies away from Namuka). If the Kambarans won they would call, "Sau e Lekutu Levu!" (Lekutu Levu is the name of the forefather god of Vuanikathu clan) or "Sau e Nggara Tambua!" (Nggara Tambua is the name of a sacred cave on Kambara.)

Intervillage, interclass, and interisland rivalry was expressed playfully through reed throwing. On Mothe the chief group and the land group played against each other. [578]

On Lakemba the game is called *tingga*. Hocart (15, p. 91) says, "In serious play the reeds are tipped with a head of *toa* wood, a very hard and heavy wood, and thence called *ulutoa* which is the Tongan for a head of *toa* wood (ironwood). When thus tipped it is thrown higher and travels far. A loop of string is sometimes attached to the butt." 526 171

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

526
[71]

This composite dart (*ulutoa*) is found throughout western Polynesia (6, pp. 102-103). Davidson (6, p. 106) believes it to be of Tongan origin.

VAKATALOLOVO

Vakatalolovo was a game formerly played by young men. It was described by the chief of Kambara as follows:

> A small thatched hut was erected and filled with food. The players lined up with bow and arrows about 11 meters from the hut. They took turns shooting at the hut and the food each player hit became his property. He took it immediately and ate it at the end of the game.

VAKANDOVU

Natives say that *vakandovu* is played today, but I did not witness it. Stalks of sugar cane are piled up and covered with leaves. A group of young men with spears stand about 15 meters away from the pile and each in turn throws his spear at the pile. The cane he hits becomes his property.

JACKSTRAWS

In the game of jackstraws (*fitchi*) there are two or more players. *Ngasau* (*Miscanthus japonicus*) reeds or hibiscus stems are cut in pieces about 25 cm. long. They are piled in a heap, and each player in turn lifts off one stick with thumb and third finger. If two sticks move the player loses his turn.

CONTESTS

A *rova*, or race run for a prize consisting of barkcloth, was witnessed at the launching of a canoe on Kambara (p. 184). Informants say that a *rova* is held on Kambara when a new garden is cleared, and that on some islands it is held at the birth of a first-born and at the first visit of a chief to the island.

Informants say that in olden times the *rova* was not customary but contests were held for making baskets (*vetau talikato*), jumping (*vetau vuka*), running (*vetau kanda*), and sailing (*vetau wangga*). On Mothe I witnessed a sailing race in which six canoes participated. The inhabitants of the island gathered on the beach in front of Nasau to witness it.

BOXING

Boxing is called *tukitekau*. According to informants, the hands of the players are wrapped with tapa or cloth from fingers to wrist, leaving the thumb exposed. The players are divided into two teams forming two rows. They are allowed to strike anywhere. Informants say that the purpose of this game is to learn to fight.

[868]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

The canoe is steered with a heavy, long-bladed steering paddle (*uli*) made from greenheart inserted between the deck and the innermost stringer. It is attached to the canoe by means of a rope tied to two holes in the upper end of the blade. A large piece of coral tied with rope is used as an anchor. The wooden bailer is the typical Oceanic scoop with handle within the cavity of the scoop.

Shell ornamentation. Fine canoes belonging to members of the nobility are often ornamented with cowry shells lashed to the tip of the head-board, the masthead, or the outrigger. Formerly shells were used only on canoes belonging to chiefs.

Repair. Holes or cracks in the hull are repaired by inserting a wooden patch inside the hull and calking the seams with *yangai* pitch made soft with a glowing brand. Ongea men are said to be skilled in canoe repair work. Nearly every Ongea canoe shows a crack at one or both ends due to the inferior timber found on the island.

Launching. When a canoe has been completed a large feast (*solevu ni wangga*) is held by the builder and his clan for the carpenter. Whales' teeth, barkcloth, mats, or sennit are presented ceremonially to him. Kava is made and food is eaten by the owner on the deck of the new canoe. Eating and drinking on the canoe are forbidden until this ceremony lifts the tabu.

At the launching of the canoe a race (*rova*) is held. The owner provides barkcloth and occasionally mats and oil. These are suspended to poles held upright by young girls. The young men gather at some distance from the girls who sing rhythmically:

Toro, toro tchikau, toro voli yani tchikau.	Move, move from there to here.
Vaka vaka o! Rova pu!	Ready, go!

At the last two words the racers start running toward the girls. The winner gets all the property he can carry. The remainder goes to the carpenter. On this occasion the canoe is named, often for a child of the owner. Canoes are known by their names. A canoe is occasionally a memorial to the dead (*lawa ni mate*—sail of the dead).

The completed sailing canoe is not housed in a shed but is beached and covered with coconut leaves or sheltered under a leafy tree.

PADDLING CANOES

Paddling canoes, like small sailing canoes, are used inside the reef for fishing, turtle hunting, and intervillage transportation. On the island of Namuka where the art of sailing canoes has been lost, paddling canoes are still used for fishing in the lagoon. They are poled in shallow water. They are built of local wood on practically every island and are usually smaller,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

against *luveniwai* and could have kept the naughty boys in order with what had been provided previously. Anyway we failed to stamp it out . . . I think there is not much harm in it so long as the votaries refrain from picking and stealing, and are duly respectful to their elders, and there is certainly a fair element of romance and poetry about it."[50]

Mr. Brewster endorsed the introduction of cricket into his district in the hope that the game would give the boys an outlet for their superfluous energy. Cricket clubs were organized and the game became very popular. It was soon found, however, that cricket was being used as a cloak for cult activities. In one district the organization aimed to free the natives from British rule. In imitation of the system of colonial administration in Fiji they had elected a governor, chief justice, and chief secretary. The native cult, altered by the introduction of cricket and organized in imitation of the colonial government, was being used for political purposes. The movement was effectively suppressed when the new cult leaders were sent to jail.

Many other natives besides those of the "Water Baby" cult make the adjustment to modern life by turning to a greater or less extent to their ancestral gods. An example of this is the rise of the *Tuka* or "Immortality" secret society. About 1873 (forty years after the introduction of Christianity into Fiji) a secret cult sprang up in the foothills of the Nakauvandra mountains in northeast Viti Levu. This is the traditional home of Ndengei, the great snake god and the mythical deity of Fiji. The leader of the "Immortality" cult was a young man named Ndukumoi (pronounced En-du-ku-moí) of a hereditary priest clan. He was not striking in appearance—a Negroid type of medium height and bleary-eyed from excessive kava drinking.[51] Ndukumoi left his home and went to Taveuni, an island off the east coast of Vanua Levu, where

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-231.
[51] "The *Tuka* Religion," *Transactions of the Fijian Society, 1910*, 1925, p. 54.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

coast. And Josefa told me of this, and nothing evil ever happened to him.

"But when she appears in her *waqawaqa* as the rat, all may look on her without harm, and she will even give help and strength to the people of her tribe, the men of Uruone; and they to this very day are wont to take a root of *Yaqona* as an offering to her when they are about to take part in a *tiqa*[1] match. But they can now only place their gifts on the stump of the old *ivi* tree that used to be her home, and seldom is she seen now since Apaitia, the last Tui Uruone, had that tree and also the *Makosoi* tree near to it cut down. In the old days the custom was as follows: when the people wished to honour her they would approach with all due humility to the hole beneath the *ivi* tree. Then the priests, who were always of the Na-Ivi-ki-lamo tribe, would take firewood and burn it, and the big, grey rat would appear, and running up the *Ivi* tree she would jump across to the *Makosoi*, and seated on a bough there would answer the questions put to her. Then she would descend and the priests would oil her and tend her, feeding her on the best portions of the food.

"Now, the grey rat would always appear as a warning when one of the Na Uto tribe, who are the chiefly tribe of Uruone, was about to die. But there came a time when so many of the tribe

[1] Weighted reeds thrown head first.